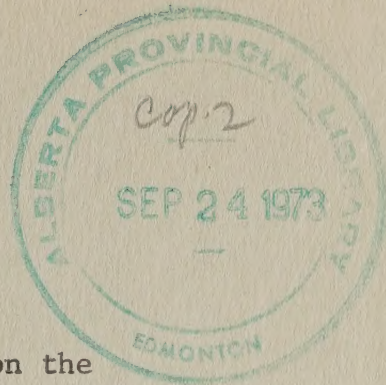The Effect of Father Absenteeism on the

Behaviour and Attitudes of Male Children

Between Eight and Sixteen Years of Age

Report of Research Conducted for the

BOYS' CLUBS OF CALGARY

Brian R. Atkinson

Assistant Professor
Department of Psychology
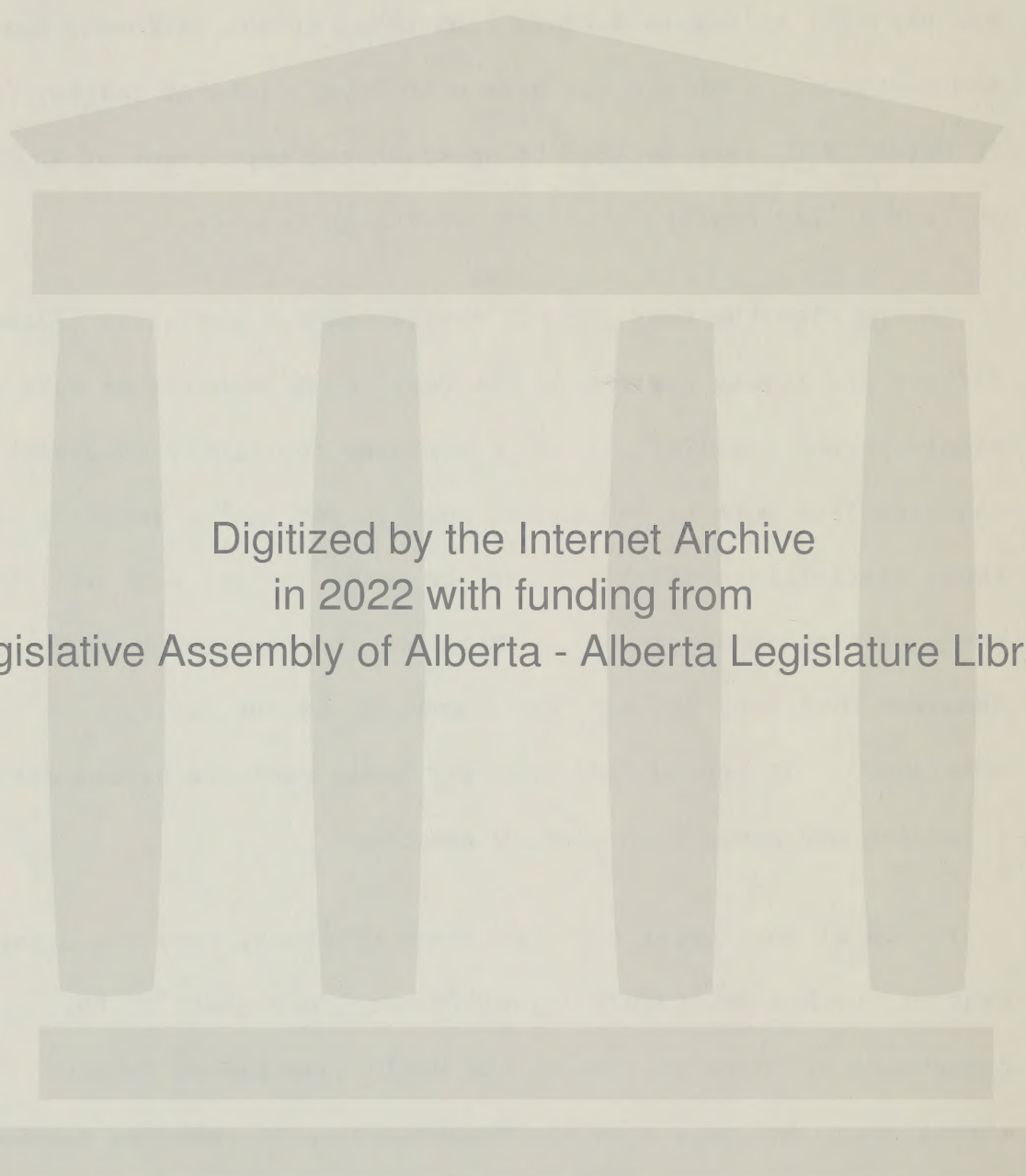The University of Calgary

May 20, 1971

FORWARD

While there are always emotional reasons for initiating any
new project, seldom is a close look taken at the rationale behind
the service.   Such was the case with Boys' Clubs of Calgary when,
in March 1970, they decided to approach the Department of Youth
to fund a "Big Brother" type of service in Calgary.

At the time the need for the service seemed obvious.   Between
fifteen and twenty percent of the Boys' Club memberships were from
single-parent families;   Boys' Clubs were constantly receiving
requests from mothers and social workers for such a service;   and
those statistics available seemed to point to some very pressing
needs of single-parent boys.   However, the Department of Youth
Research Division, our own Board Members and our staff, were not
convinced.   It seemed that the very basic concepts behind such
a service had never been closely examined.

It was at that point that Dr. Brian Atkinson, from the Depart-
ment of Psychology, University of Calgary, was asked by the
Department of Youth to look at the whole question of father-
absent boys, and make some recommendation as to remedial services
on their behalf.   He decided to conduct his study in three
stages: a review of existing research on the problem;   a project
of his own to examine behavioural differences of boys with and
without fathers;   and an evaluative study of any resulting service
to fatherless boys.

On examining existing research on the subject, Dr. Atkinson finds that there is evidence to support the hypothesis that boys growing up in father-absent homes will exhibit differences in personality and attitudes. He concludes, however, that disagreement in results, inadequate methodology and a tendency to generalize results that are very specific still renders the question open to debate.[1]

As the second stage of his project, Dr. Atkinson examines seventy boys - all members of the Renfrew Boys' Club - thirty without and forty with fathers, to determine what behavioural differences exist in the two groups. His research finds some differences in attitudes of mothers towards negative behaviour of their sons; and more significant differences in the attitude of the boys towards authority. He states, however, that in terms of behaviour in the home, school and society, he found little indication that boys from fatherless homes experienced any more difficulty than boys from father-present homes.

Dr. Atkinson concludes that there might be potential difficulty on the part of the fatherless boys resultant from his attitude towards authority, but states that if such is the case any programme of remediation should perhaps be aimed

1. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare published a pamphlet entitled 'Boys' in Fatherless Homes' (Herzog and Sudia,1958) which is a review of 60 research projects on this subject. They came to much the same conclusion as Dr. Atkinson.

at support for the mother, not the child.

THE BOYS' CLUB EXPERIENCE:

With the co-operation of 'Parents Without Partners', Boys' Clubs were able to experience another type of service to single-parents. As a social and recreational club, this organization would merit serious consideration as a means of providing the service talked about by Dr. Atkinson.

The many referrals that Boys' Clubs received over the past year would further bear out Dr. Atkinson's conclusions. Anxiety on the part of the mother over the negative behaviour of her son seemed to be one of the recurring reasons for referrals. Other reasons, like lack of transportation or financial resources, would indicate a solution as simple as existing agencies consciously reaching out to single-parent children to integrate them into their programme.

With Dr. Atkinson, Boys' Clubs would recommend further study on the subject of single-parent families; with emphasis on the mother and family unit rather than the boy.

With an increasing incidence of family break-up and resultant single-parent homes, it is essential that an examination of the many economic, social and psychological problems faced by such homes be conducted.   Accordingly, we would not recommend

implementation of a service aimed specifically at fatherless boys

at the present time, but would ask the Department of Youth to

examine the whole family unit and design a service around their

needs.

Respectfully submitted:
Ronald J. Smith,
Director Special Services,
Boys' Clubs of Calgary.

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Behavior and Attitudes of Male Children

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Introduction to Problem and Literature Review

There would appear to be a consensus in our society that an intact nuclear family is both desirable and essential for the development of normal behavior. The presence of two parents is undoubtedly desirable if, for no other reason, that it increases the probability of economic stability. However, whether, in fact, the presence of two parents is essential for normal development is open to question.

The effect of parental absence is not merely an academic question which has only theoretical importance. An understanding of these effects will facilitate decision making with respect to programs of assistance or remediation if, in fact, it is found that such programs are warranted. The present research is designed to provide data which will enhance decision making with respect to one proposed remedial program.

It has been suggested that in the instance where a father is not present in the home, male children will benefit from contact with an adult male father substitute. This suggestion appears to have been derived principally from the theoretical point of view that a father is a necessary figure in the identification process. That is, the presence of a father enables a male child to make the necessary sex-role identification thereby facilitating social adjustment. By implication, the absence of a father will impede the identification process and increase the probability of effeminate, passive behavior. Such behavior is generally regarded as being somewhat deviant in our society and likely to render social adjustment difficult.

An examination of the literature pertaining to single parent families reveals some support for this position. Bach (1946) using a standardized projective doll-play technique, found that male children without fathers

"produced an idealistic and feminine fantasy picture of the father when compared with the control children [p. 79]." Similarly, Biller (1965), using Brown's IT scale, found a lesser degree of masculinity in both father absent white and Negro male children as compared to control children with fathers. However, the author tempers his interpretation with the suggestion that family background, as well as father absence, is an important factor in the development of masculinity. That is, in families where little value is attached to being a male, the development of a masculine self-concept may be difficult.

Although these results seem to provide support for the identification hypothesis, additional findings from independent research question the validity of this position. McCord, McCord and Thurber (1962) failed to find a higher incidence of feminity or aggression (as indicated by judgements) among father absent boys. However, a combination of these two variables, i.e., feminity and aggressiveness, was more evident in this group. Greenstein (1964) investigated the frequency of overt and latent homosexuality, feminine identification and measures of masculinity-femininity in both male children with and without fathers. No significant differences were found between the groups of children. One interesting effect, which argues against the identification hypothesis was evident however. A small but significant correlation was found between father closeness and overt homosexuality. Finally, Heatherington (1965) obtained results providing evidence both for and against the identification hypothesis. It was found that if children had been separated from their fathers before the age of five years, they experienced sex-role identification problems. However, if the separation occurred after the age of five,

there were no differences between male children with and without fathers.

In addition to the variable of sex-role typing, the variable of aggression has also been associated with paternal absence. Sears, Pintler and Sears (1946) found a higher incidence of aggression in the projective doll play behavior of father absent children relative to a control group drawn from intact families. Similarly, McCord, McCord and Thurber (1962) found relatively more aggression in children without fathers as measured by behavior ratings. In contradiction to these results, Heatherington (1966) found that less aggression was present in male children whose fathers had left the family when the children were under four years of age relative to children whose nuclear family was intact.

Research has also been conducted in variables related specifically to pathology. The impetus for this research is derived mainly from the logical argument which is as follows. Pathology during adulthood is dependent, to a large extent, upon experience occurring during childhood. If an intact nuclear family is a major factor influencing normal development, then it is possible that the absence of one parent may be disruptive to normal development. Consequently, in the latter case, the probability of the development of abnormal behavior may be increased.

Brill and Liston (1966) examined the records of 5,479 psychiatric patients of various diagnosis and noted the incidence of parental loss in this group. The proportion of parental loss was then compared to the proportion of loss estimated as occurring in the general population. It was found that a significantly larger proportion of patients had lost at least one parent through causes other than death (particularly divorce or separation). If the loss was due to death, there was no significant difference between the groups. Archibald, Bell, Miller and Tuddenham

(1962) conducted a similar study with a group of 1,000 psychiatric patients except that only loss of a parent through bereavement was examined. A higher incidence of parental bereavement was found in the psychiatric sample. These findings suggest that parental loss is a factor in satisfactory adjustment during adulthood. However, they must be interpreted with caution as the appropriateness of the control groups in both studies is highly questionable.

In addition to extreme pathology, the variable of anxiety, as it relates to broken homes, has also been investigated. Koch (   ) found that children from broken homes were significantly more anxious than children from complete homes as measured by the Amen's projective test of anxiety. Although these results are suggestive of increased pathology in the experimental group, the methodology of this study is of such quality as to question the meaningfulness of the findings.

An interesting study which is methodologically sound was conducted by Mischel (1961). Children with absent fathers were compared with children from intact families on their ability to delay gratification. It was found that a significantly larger number of children from father absent homes preferred immediate to delayed reward. This finding may indicate significant personality differences between children with and without fathers.

A number of studies have also been conducted comparing the behavior of children whose fathers were temporarily absent from the home with that of children whose fathers were not absent. Stolz and her colleagues (1954) report a very involved study which compared 31 children from 19 families where the father had been absent because of war with control groups of children where the fathers had not been absent. The children were

compared on a large number of measures including social participation, dominance, friendliness, initiation of aggression, sympathy, response to adult authority and response to aggression. These major variables were further divided into sub-variables which allowed for additional comparison. For example, the variable of social participation was divided as follows: initiative, associative, parallel, onlooker, isolate.

The results of these comparisons revealed no significant differences between the groups on the major variables. However, comparisons on the sub-variables of children whose fathers were at war with those whose fathers were not revealed differences which were significant beyond chance. The following description of these differences is evident in Stolz (1954, pp. 205-206).

> The non-separated group of children is better able to establish and maintain associations with other children than the children of the war-separated group. On a behavioral level this can be explained in their greater frequency of syncretic modes of approach and their smaller frequency of acts of an extreme dominant nature. The ability to give and take, democratically, which the non-separated group shows to a greater extent than the war-separated group, seems to be essential for the maintenance of associative contacts over a long period of time. It may also reflect the freedom of the non-separated, as contrasted with the war-separated, from psychological needs which are outside of the present situation. That is, the extreme dominance of the war-separated group may be both an assertion of suppressed individuality and also a habit learned as a necessity in their dealings with parents and siblings at home.
>
> Aggression seems to be a normal part of a young child's repertoire of social behavior, but our two groups handle aggression differently. The war-separated group aggresses less frequently than the non-separated group, but more often aggresses with unfriendly intent. They are aggressed against more frequently than the non-separated children; they are more submissive to it and show more panic when faced with aggression. These facts seem to point out that the war-separated group has a greater amount of hostility and a greater fear of aggression than the non-separated. This would suggest that the war-separated have been suppressed in their expression of aggression, either by others, or because they fear the social isolation involved in expressions of hostility. Aggression is an area of conflict

for them, and the conflicts which lower their amount of initi-
ation of aggression also cause them to respond to aggression
against themselves ineffectually, and, therefore, cause still
greater aggression against them. Hostility and conflict over
aggression are both present in the war-separated group to a
greater extent than the non-separated group, and we suspect
that these attitudes may have been developed because of the
suppression at home of impulses of which aggression is but one.

The two groups of children are about equal in the frequency and
the modes of expressing friendliness, but the war-separated group
is more overtly unfriendly while the non-separated group is more
controlled and discouraging in their expression of unfriendliness.
By its very nature, the unfriendliness of the war-separated
cuts off associations with children. This unfriendliness is
similar to the aggression and unfriendliness which is more fre-
quent in the war-separated than the non-separated. There seems
to be a core of hate built by suppression and distrust in the
war-separated group from which their dominance, aggression,
and unfriendliness arise. These factors are interrelated, and
we have looked for their etiology in the parents the child
brought to school with him. In school these behaviors combine
to cause the child to function inefficiently in associations
with children, and this failure may cause secondary reinforce-
ment of the asocial pattern.

The non-separated children behave more naturally with adults
than the war-separated children. They are more positive and
negative, while the war-separated tend to be more dependent and
demanding. In other words, the non-separated express themselves
more overtly, while the war-separated resort more to role-
structuring and definitions of the situations which put a
barrier between themselves and the adults. The adults in the
nursery school are permissive, and, in a good sense, something
special. The non-separated children make a freer, broader,
more personal use of this opportunity. The war-separated
children may have felt that any negative behavior might change
these adults, and, therefore, cause a loss of valued relation-
ships with permissive adults. In either case, the war-separated
children, as in their behavior in child-to-child relationships,
carried needs from another situation into the new situations.
This view is confirmed in the behavior of the two groups in their
response to adult initiations, for the non-separated were more
frequently seen accepting the adult with indifference, rather
than positively or negatively.

In responding to adult authority the war-separated group
shows a conflict in its behavior. More frequently than the
non-separated group, the war-separated children are both defiant
and compulsive in their response to adult authority. They are
somewhat less obedient and somewhat more covertly disobedient.
They show both an overrespect for authority and a dislike which
causes them to defy it. It is as if the overemphasis of the
returned fathers on discipline and their poor methods of en-
forcing discipline had led to overreaction to authority both in
obedience and disobedience. Perhaps some of the war-separated

children's defiance in the nursery school was because they
felt that they could dare to express their needs with these
permissive teachers, but the conflict and fear were certainly
present.

An additional study investigating the behavioral effects of tempo-
rary father absence was conducted by Lynn and Sawrey (1958). The subjects
in this study were the children of Norwegian sailors who were away from
home from between nine months and two years. Comparisons with appropriate
control groups indicated that father absent children were more immature
and that the male children appeared to have difficulty both in sex-role
identification and peer relations.

At this point it seems worthwhile to consider the previous research
results in terms of the aims of the present study. It will be recalled that
previously, the following questions were raised. First, is the development
of male children detrimentally influenced by the absence of a father?
Second, does the presence of a father substitute increase the probability
that development will be normal?

On the basis of the present literature it would appear that differences
do exist between male children with and without fathers. Furthermore, the
differences would seem to indicate that children without fathers have a higher
incidence of adjustment problems. However, before accepting this conclusion,
a number of questions must be raised. First, the results evident in the
literature are, to some extent, conflicting. That is, on variables such as
masculinity and aggression there is both support for and lack of support for
differences between the groups. Second, the nature of the dependent variables
are questionable. A large number of studies have employed projective tech-
niques in order to assess personality differences. The validity of projective

measures as predictors of behavior is suspect. Third, the control groups in some of the studies cited were innappropriate. This was particularly evident in the research investigating the relationship between pathology and the incidence of father absence. Fourth, the nature of the samples in the studies where fathers were temporarily absent from the home, makes it difficult to generalize to all children without fathers. Finally, it is almost impossible to conclude that the variable of importance is the absence of the father. In cases where the father has left the home through separation or divorce, the act of leaving may be the final indication of serious disruption in the personal relationship between the parents. Perhaps the breakdown in social interaction prior to the father's leaving is the significant variable affecting the behavior of the children. These points and others have been made in an article by Herzog and Sudia (1968) which reviews the research in the area of fatherless homes.

Evidence relating to the second question, i.e., does the presence of a father substitute increase the probability of normal development, is even less clear than the evidence relating to the question of differences. On the basis of the literature, the identification hypothesis appears suspect. Furthermore, research results comparing the behavior of children with and without substitute fathers appears to be forthcoming in the literature. Consequently, the value of remedial programs based on providing substitute fathers remains to be determined.

Although the research conducted thus far has failed to provide definitive answers to either of the questions raised, they are important questions and should be further considered. The purpose of the present research is to conduct such an examination. However, there are some important differences between previous research and that presented in this

report. First, the orientation in the present research will be atheoretical.
Although it is possible to examine theoretical formulations, e.g., identifi-
cation or possibly modelling, the value in taking a theoretical position is
questionable in terms of the purpose of the research. Second, the dependent
variables investigated will be focused on ongoing behavior and performances
rather than on concepts and/or personality variables. It was felt that
a more relevant measure of adequate functioning would be indicated by typical
performance in a number of important situations, e.g., school and home. In
addition, the variables of chronological age, age of child when father left
the home and, if possible, reason for father's departure will be investigated.

The results of the behavioral comparisons between children with and
without fathers will be evaluated in terms of a program of remediation
involving substitute fathers, i.e., an adult male who regularly spends a
certain amount of time each week with the fatherless child. If it is found
that the behavior of children without fathers is indicative of adjustment
problems, then an attempt will be made to identify possible causes for
this behavior and to determine if, in fact, a substitute father might
facilitate adjustment.

Method

Subjects. Seventy males between the ages of eight and sixteen
years were employed in this study. Forty of the children were members of
an intact nuclear family. This group served as a control for the re-
maining 30 children who comprised the experimental group. The children
in the experimental group were selected on the basis that neither the
natural father nor an adult father substitute was present in the home. All
children were members of the Renfrew Boys' Club and all lived in the same

area of the city of Calgary.

Both of the groups (experimental, control) were differentiated on
the basis of age. Children from the ages of eight to twelve were designated
as the young group while the old group consisted of children ranging in
age from thirteen to sixteen. The experimental group contained thirteen
young and seventeen old children. Comparable figures for the control group
were fifteen and twenty-five. A comparison of the experimental and control
groups on the variable of age by means of t-tests revealed no significant
differences for either the young or old conditions. The mean ages of the
young and old subjects in the experimental group were 9.77 and 14.12 years
respectively, while comparable control group ages were 10.20 and 14.48
years.

Procedure

Data on each subject were collected from three sources; the mother,
the school and the subject himself. The data were collected by means of
questionnaires which were designed to investigate behaviors which might
suggest meaningful differences between the groups of children. The method
of data gathering is described as follows.

(1) Mother. The mother of each child was contacted individually
by telephone and her permission to obtain information from herself, her
son and the school the boy attended was obtained. The researcher then
arranged an interview with the mother where she was requested to complete
the questionnaire. The mothers were asked to provide their own answers
to the questions without seeking additional advice from relatives and
friends. The questionnaire completed by the mother was concerned basically
with her evaluation of her son's behavior while at home. She was asked
to answer questions regarding discipline (frequency, nature), co-operation,

activities in which the child participated, her perception of the child's performance in school as well as questions about the child's father. The questionnaire employed is evident in Appendix A.

Following completion of the questionnaire, the nature of the research was explained to the mother and questions raised by her were answered.

(2) School. The principals in all of the schools attended by the subjects were contacted and their permission to gather data on these children was obtained. The guidance counsellor or appropriate teacher in each school was then personally contacted to complete the questionnaire concerned with the subject's behavior while at school. This questionnaire (see Appendix C) was designed to obtain information about academic performance, participation in both sports and clubs, scholastic and sports awards as well as deviant behavior, e.g., detentions, number of days late.

(3) Subjects. Data was obtained from the subjects by having them complete two questionnaires. One questionnaire was concerned with their behavior at school, home and away from home and school. The second questionnaire involved having the children make Semantic Differential ratings on a number of chosen concepts (Appendices B and D).

There was some concern initially that the youngest children might find the task too dificult or demanding. However, pilot work with three eight-year-old children indicated that they were able to both understand and complete the questionnaires.

Groups of five subjects at a time were conducted to a quiet area on the premises of the Renfrew Boys' Club. It was then explained to the children that they were to complete two questionnaires. They were told that one questionnaire was composed of items concerned with things they

did at home and school and that the second questionnaire involved having them make judgements about different kinds of people or things. The nature of the task was explained in detail and sample questions were given to each subject in order to ensure that the task was understood. The children were instructed not to discuss their answers during the task and were seated so that observation of another child's performance was extremely difficult. The presence of two experimenters ensured that silence was maintained throughout this period of time. The order of presentation of the questionnaire was counterbalanced across subjects, i.e., half of the subjects received the Semantic Differential scales before the demographic questionnaire.

Following completion of the task, the demographic questionnaire of each subject was examined by an experimenter in order to ensure that the child had understood all of the questions. If there was any answer which suggested a lack of understanding of the question, the child was requested to clarify his answer.

The subject demographic scale was similar, in many respects, to both the school and mothers' questionnaires, i.e., the items were concerned mainly with the child's behavior at home and school. For example, the subject was requested to answer questions regarding discipline, activities, co-operation and interests as related to both of these institutions.

The Semantic Differential scale was designed to assess the perception of relevant concepts by the subjects. The concepts chosen were as follows: Teacher, Girls, Police, School, Mother, Father, Man, Woman, Home and Dishonesty. Each concept was judged in terms of three dimensions—evaluation (good - bad), potency (strong - weak) and activity (active - passive).

Results

The results were analyzed in a number of different ways in order to determine if, in fact, there were differences between the experimental and control groups. The first set of analyses were conducted on variables which were designed to signify possible differences in behavior between the groups of children. The variables investigated are shown in Appendix E. The first set of analyses involved comparisons conducted on each variable for both the experimental and control groups, i.e., the answers of all children in the experimental group were compared with all children in the control group. Identical comparisons were also conducted between both younger and older children in each group. These comparisons were made by means of t-tests and χ^2 where t-tests were an inappropriate statistic because of the nature of the measuring scales. The results of these comparisons revealed few significant differences at the 5% level of confidence.

Mothers. Mothers reported that children with fathers were less likely to carry out duties around the home then children without fathers (t = 2.412, df = 68, p < .05). This result, however, was evident only for older children (t = 2.213, df = 40, p < .05). Similarly, children with fathers were less likely to be involved in active recreational activities away from the home (t = 2.514, df = 40, p < .05). As before, this finding applied only to older subjects (t = 3.247, df = 40, p < .01). It was also reported that older children with fathers receive less allowance (t = 2.69, df = 40, p < .05) than older children without fathers. Although the data indicated that children with fathers participated in fewer recreational activities, there was evidence that this group participated

in more organized activities away from the home. This result was evident for overall (t = 3.667, df = 68, p < .001), younger (t = 2.775, df = 26, p < .05) and older (t = 2.749, df = 40, p < .01) children. Furthermore, mothers reported that children with fathers were less often late for school (t = 2.235, df = 68, p < .05). The results suggested that this finding was evident for both younger and older children although the t-value did not reach significance at the 5% level of confidence for these comparisons. Finally, it was reported that children with fathers are less likely to attend church when younger but more likely to attend when older (x^2 = 4.0, df = 1, p < .05).

Subjects. The comparison of data obtained from subjects' questionnaires also revealed a number of significant differences. It was found that both younger and older children with fathers reported that they carried out more duties around the home (t = 2.213, df = 40, p < .05 and t = 2.322, df = 26, p < .05 for old and young respectively). Interestingly, this finding is opposite to that reported by mothers. In addition, younger children with fathers reported that they belonged to a greater number of clubs (t = 2.837, df = 26, p < .01). Furthermore, younger children with fathers reported that they belonged to more clubs in school (scholastic) than younger children without fathers (x^2 = 5.87, df = 1, p < .05). Finally, younger children without fathers state that they are more likely to attend church than older children without fathers (x^2 = 4.91, df = 1, p < .05). The same effect was not evident for children with fathers.

School. The analysis of data collected from the school questionnaire indicated no significant differences between children with and without fathers.

Results from Data on Methods of Control

In addition to measures designed to reflect behavior in children, variables which reflected methods of discipline were investigated. The variables chosen were included in both the mothers' and subjects' questionnaires and are shown in Appendix F.

Children with and without fathers were compared on the discipline measures by means of t-tests. These comparisons were conducted for younger, older and a combination of younger and older children.

Mothers. The results of the analyses indicated that overall methods of discipline did not vary significantly as a function of the fathers' presence or absence in the home as reported by mothers. However, methods of discipline did vary significantly between the two groups as a function of the offense. It was found that mothers of father absent children perceived destructive behavior and truancy as warranting more severe punishment than did mothers where the father was present in the home. With respect to destructive behavior, there was an overall difference (t = 2.838, df = 68, p < .01) which resulted mainly from the difference evident in the younger age group (t = 2.982, df = 26, p < .01), i.e., the severity of punishment varied as a function of both fathers' absence and age. There was no significant difference between older children on this variable.

The opposite effect was evident on the truancy variable. That is, a significant effect (t = 4.146, df = 40, p < .001) between the groups was evident only in older children with truancy being considered a more serious offense in father absent homes.

Subjects. A comparison of the subject data on discipline revealed

a number of interesting results relative to the mothers' data. Whereas
the mothers of father absent children perceived certain offenses as de-
serving more punishment, the children of father absent homes perceived their
offenses as resulting in less punishment than children from homes where
the father was present. This result was evident for lying, fighting with
siblings, stealing and destructive behavior in the home. As before, the
differences varied as a function of age. It was found that children with
fathers perceived lying as resulting in significantly more severe punishment
(t = 2.302, df = 68, p < .05) but this effect resulted from the older
(t = 2.187, df = 40, p < .05) rather than the young children. The opposite
effect was observed with the variables of stealing and destructive behavior.
Young subjects from intact families perceived both stealing (t = 2.15, df =
26, p < .05) and destructive behavior (t = 2.837, df = 26, p < .01) as
resulting in more severe punishment. Discipline for fighting did not vary
as a function of age. Children with fathers regarded fighting as an offense
warranting more severe discipline than children without fathers (t = 2.062,
df = 68, p < .05).

Age of Child when Father Departed

The data were also analyzed in terms of the age of the child when
the father departed from the family. The thirty children in the experimental
group were divided on the basis of their median age (5 years) when the
father left. These two groups (< 5 years, > 5 years) were then compared by
means of t-tests on each of the variables previously analyzed. The results
of this comparison revealed only two significant effects. The younger
group had a lower chronological age (t = 2.183, df = 28, p < .05) and

received greater punishment for truancy from school (t = 3.218, df = 28, p < .01). It should be pointed out that two significant effects from 48 possible effects is precisely the expected chance outcome at the 5% level of confidence.

Semantic Differential

In addition to demographic data, the children with fathers were compared to children without fathers on the semantic differential data. These comparisons were conducted in order to evaluate whether, in fact, important concepts (e.g., father, man, woman) were perceived differently by the two groups. Each concept was evaluated along the dimensions of "evaluation," "potency" and "activity." The fact that there were ten concepts and three scales for each allowed for thirty comparisons by means of t-tests. The results of these analyses revealed no significant differences between children with and without fathers.

Although the foregoing analyses revealed no significant differences between the groups, it was felt that differences may be indicated through the use of multi-variate analyses. That is, an investigation of the relationships between the different measures may indicate results which would not be evident from the separate consideration of each measure. Accordingly, the semantic differential data was subjected to a factor analysis.

The results of this analysis indicated a very complex factor structure which revealed a considerable amount of information about the manner in which male children in general perceive the concepts investigated. Although twelve factors were found, the variable of father present or absent loaded on only one of these. This factor seemed to suggest that older children with fathers have a more definite sense of right and wrong

which is associated with the home, particularly the mother.

In order to attempt to clarify these results further, two additional factor analyses were conducted on the data. One analysis was run on the data from children with fathers while the other was run on the data obtained from father absent children. The first analysis revealed eleven separate factors while the second indicated ten. A qualitative comparison of the second order factors (there were four in each analysis) for each group, revealed some differences in the factor structures. Children without fathers tended to view authority more negatively and seemed less definite in their perception of the concepts of teacher, home, father, mother and man. These results must be interpreted with caution however, as the number of subjects in both analyses was too small to draw definite conclusions using the type of analysis employed.

Discussion

It will be recalled that the present research was designed to investigate two issues. The first was to observe if, in fact, children without fathers differed in important aspects of their daily behavior. Secondly, the data were to be considered in terms of the manner in which they related to a program of remediation involving substitute fathers for children whose natural father was no longer present in the home. Each of these issues will be appraised separately.

Differences

Although only differences in behavior were presented in the "Results" section, a meaningful evaluation of the data must involve a consideration of all comparisons made. Such a consideration reveals

many more similarities than differences in the behavior of the two groups.

The lack of differences is exemplified in behavior in school. Children without fathers perform as well academically, participate in as many sports and clubs and receive no more censure for their behavior then children with fathers. Furthermore, it was reported by mothers that father absent children are as responsible around the home as children with fathers and are more likely to be as involved in recreational activities than are children with both parents. Children with fathers, however, participate in more organized activities away from home and are reported by mothers to be less frequently late for school.

The data obtained from the children generally agreed with that reported by the mothers and the school. However, there were a few exceptions. Children with fathers reported that they have more demands made on them in terms of duties around the home than children without fathers. In addition, younger children from intact families claim to be somewhat more involved in extra-curricular activities while at school but are less likely to attend church than father absent children.

It would appear, on the basis of these results, that the behavior of children without fathers is neither more nor less deviant than that of children having fathers. They perform as well scholastically, generally participate in as many activities and appear to be equally co-operative and responsible around the home.

Although behaviorally the two groups are very similar, there is evidence to suggest that minor deviant behavior is viewed somewhat differently in the two groups. The mothers of father absent children report that certain behaviors (destructive behavior and truancy) warrant more

severe discipline in younger children. The opposite effects were noted

in the questionnaires completed by the children. It was found that older

children with fathers reported that lying resulted in more severe punish-

ment while the younger children in this group perceived stealing and

destructive behavior as more serious offenses relative to children without

fathers. Fighting behavior was more severely reprimanded in the father

present as opposed to the father absent group regardless of age.

These findings tend to suggest that disciplinary behavior varies as

a function of the father's absence. Although mothers of father absent

children perceive certain behavioral deviations as deserving more severe

discipline, the children in this group perceive their deviant behavior as

resulting in less discipline than that received by children where the father

is present. Speculation as to the meaning of these results suggests that

one role played by the father is that of maintaining control over behavior.

The control of behavior may be a primary function of the father.

However, the father's presence, as indicated by results discussed previously,

does not appreciably affect the behavior examined in this research as

reported by the school, mothers and children although it might influence

other behaviors not investigated. In fact, there is evidence, as indicated

by the factor analysis, that the presence or absence of a father may affect

the child's perception of concepts and institutions deemed to be important

in society.

It would appear that children without fathers perceive authority

somewhat differently from children with fathers. There is a suggestion

that father absent children are less conforming to authority and are more

likely to perceive such institutions as the home more negatively than chil-

dren living in intact nuclear families. Whether, in fact, this result

suggests negative adjustment is questionable. In some instances, children
without fathers have experienced considerable disruption in their personal
lives and a skepticism of and possibly distrust for authority may reflect
a realistic perception of the world for these children. Furthermore, it
may reflect a need to develop autonomy as the questioning of authority
occurred in both groups as a function of age, i.e., the older children
questioned more than the younger children.

Although children without fathers may evaluate concepts like mother
and institutions such as home more negatively than children with fathers,
there does not appear to be confusion with respect to the development of
sex-role behavior. Both groups perceive males, particularly fathers, as
active, dynamic and strong. Women, although perceived as being active, are
also judged to be somewhat retiring, which reflects the typical feminine
role. It would seem, therefore, that children without fathers are provided
with adequate models which serve to allow for the development of appropriate
sex-role behavior.

Interpretation

The results of this research seem to indicate a pattern of behavior
which may be meaningful. On the basis of the data, it would appear that
there is little evidence to suggest that the overt behavior of male children
without fathers is appreciably different from that of children with fathers.
However, it must be emphasized that many behaviors, e.g., peer group
relationships, were not observed systematically and an investigation of
these behaviors may reveal differences.

Although a comparison of overt behavior indicated few differences,
it appeared that the perception of authority varied, to some extent, as a

function of the fathers' absence. The reason for this difference in perception of authority is not clearly evident. However, there is an indication that it may reflect disciplinary or control difficulties in the homes without fathers. It was noted in the results that children without fathers reported that their unacceptable behavior resulted in less punishment than did similar behavior in children with fathers. Perhaps an important role played by fathers is to provide control which may reduce the ambiguity surrounding possible consequences of behavior as perceived by the child. The authoritative role of the father might also have other effects such as facilitating the development of respect for authority. If, in fact, this were true, it might serve as a reasonable explanation for the results obtained. It must be pointed out that this interpretation goes beyond the data and can be validated only through additional research.

Programs of Remediation

Before considering the implementation of particular programs of remediation, it appears worthwhile to consider whether, in fact, remediation of any kind is warranted for fatherless boys. Naturally, any program of remediation must be based upon an underlying assumption of deviance from the norm or the prevention of deviance from the norm. Therefore, if a program of remediation was to be instituted for fatherless boys, it must be demonstrated that the behavior of these children is aberrant or that there is an increased probability that their behavior will be deviant relative to the norm. The present results suggest that the overt behavior of these children is not deviant although it is possible that their attitudes may be considered to be so.

A decision regarding whether apparent negative attitudes toward

authority indicates deviant behavior would seem to rest upon a value judgement. That is, if it is judged that such attitudes are or are likely to have detrimental effects on behavior, then such attitudes may be considered deviant. However, if they are perceived as not having detrimental effects, e.g., they may be considered to indicate developing autonomy, then deviancy is not an issue. In the first case, programs of remediation are justified. It would be difficult to justify remedial programs in the second instance.

With respect to the present problem, a remedial program may be worth considering. It would seem that positive attitudes toward the home, school, etc., are judged to be desirable characteristics in our society. Although the effects of negative attitudes toward these institutions cannot be stated specifically, it seems likely that such attitudes will increase the probability of adjustment problems in later life.

Program Involving Substitute Fathers

It was indicated at the outset of this paper, that a program of remediation suggested as being beneficial to children without fathers involves providing contact with an adult male. Presumably, the adult acts as a model of behavior thereby facilitating the learning of appropriate sex-role behavior in the child. Although such a program would seem to have merit, its success would seem to depend upon at least two important factors.

First, it must be determined that the absence of a father has deprived the child of appropriate models. Second, the numerous roles of fathers in general must be considered and a decision made regarding whether a substitute father is in a position to fulfill a number of important

functions as they influence the child.

The results of the present research do not suggest that fatherless children have been deprived of appropriate models of behavior. There was evidence to suggest that the children had acquired concepts of masculinity which they related to themselves and differentiated from feminine behavior. In addition, the reported overt behavior of these children did not suggest deviance or pathology. Consequently, some of the present findings would tend to argue against the implementation of a program involving father substitutes.

The present results do suggest, however, that an individual who is willing to both take an authoritative role (a role likely filled by fathers) and exercise control over behavior may have beneficial effects on fatherless children. It seems unlikely that an adult male substitute would be in a position to fulfill either of these conditions, particularly the latter, very well. The control of children involves a degree of responsibility which is not likely to be granted to a person who is not a member of the nuclear family even if he was willing to accept that responsibility.

It would appear that there is reason to question a program of re-mediation based upon a substitute father. This does not imply that such a program would not have value for certain purposes. However, a program of this nature may not be the most expedient for the present problem where the goal is to structure the situation such that the probability of normal development and adequate adjustment will be enhanced.

There would appear to be an alternative method to the father substitute program which might be considered. If, as the data suggests, the attitude

differences are related to problems of authority and control, then altera-
tions in authority and changes in the method of control may result in
attitude changes. The most logical individual to carry out these changes
is the mother as she has the greatest investment in the future of her
children and is in a position to exert the necessary authority.

It is therefore suggested that if it is decided to implement a pro-
gram to aid children without fathers, then it should be centered around
the mother. Such a program might be designed initially to provide in-
formation concerning useful methods of child rearing, e.g., controlling
behavior. Additional services could be provided at a later date when
the problems and needs of both the mother and child have been determined.
Furthermore, it is felt that a program of this nature could be effectively
administered through existing organizations, e.g., Boys' Clubs or Parents
Without Partners and that it would not be necessary to establish a separate
organization.

Summary of Recommendations

(1) If a program to assist fatherless boys is implemented, it
should be planned around the mother rather than around a substitute father.

(2) Initially, such a program should be designed to deal with
practical problems in child rearing.

(3) The program should be incorporated into the services of an
existing organization which has an interest in the problems of fatherless
boys.

Mother's Questionnaire

Age of Child: Years_____ Months_____

Age of child when father left the home: Years_____ Months_____

Reason for father leaving home:

Separation
Divorce
Desertion
Death
Hospitalization
Other (Specify)

Do you belong to a Religious Denomination? Yes_____   No_____

Religion_____

Does your son attend church? Yes_____   No_____

If yes, how often does he attend church?

rarely
sometimes
quite often
very often

Number of brothers and sisters:

#_____ of brothers

#_____ of sisters

Age of brothers and sisters:

Age of brothers _____

Age of sisters _____

Does your son continue to see his father? Yes_____   No_____

If yes, please indicate how often:
rarely
sometimes
quite often
very often

Are you satisfied with this frequency of visiting? Yes_____   No_____

List duties of child in home (e.g., washing dishes, feeding animals, etc.):

How often are duties performed as requested and/or expected (check one):

never   (a) _____
rarely   (b) _____
sometimes   (c) _____
always   (d) _____

How often is it necessary to request duties be performed (check one)?:

never
rarely
sometimes
always

What is amount of child's allowance per week if one is given? _____

In what recreational activities (e.g., reading, watching TV) does your
child participate in the home? Please list these and estimate the time
(in hours/week) spent at each.

Activity   Hours/Week

What T.V. programs are of the most interest to your child?

Name of Program

What methods of control or discipline are most effective with your child?
Please check one.
1. spanked
2. swatted
3. shouted at
4. talked to
5. loss of privilege
6. no punishment

Who does the majority of disciplining? _____

How would the following behaviors be disciplined?

(a) Coming home late for dinner without informing you:

     spanked____ swatted____ shouted at____ no punishment____ talked to____

     loss of privilege____

(b) refusing to obey a request made by you:
     loss of privilege_____   no punishment_____   shouted at_____   spanked_____
     talked to_____   swatted_____

(c) lying:
     loss of privilege_____   spanked_____   shouted at_____   swatted_____   no punishment_____
     talked to_____

(d) picking on younger brother or sister:
     talked to_____   spanked_____   loss of privilege_____   no punishment_____   swatted_____
     shouted at_____

(e) stealing:
     spanked_____   no punishment_____   talked to_____   shouted at_____   swatted_____
     loss of privilege_____

(f) destructive behavior (e.g., breaking a piece of furniture):
     spanked_____   loss of privilege_____   talked to_____   shouted at_____   swatted_____
     no punishment_____

(g) truancy or misbehavior at school:
     loss of privilege_____   talked to_____   no punishment_____   shouted at_____
     spanked_____   swatted_____

In what organized activities (e.g., cubs, scouts) does your child participate
away from home or school?

<u>Activities</u>   <u>Time</u>

Other than in organized activities, in what activities does your child participate
when he is not at home? Estimate the time spent in each of these activities
in hours/week.

<u>Activities</u>   <u>Time</u>

Do you feel your child's marks in school are:

below average
average
above average

Have you been contacted by school authorities with regard to misbehavior by
your son? Yes _____   No _____

Number of times: once_____ between 1 and 5 times_____ more than 5 times _____

Has your son ever been suspended or expelled from school? Yes_____ No_____

Subject Demographic Data

List your duties and responsibilities around home (e.g., washing dishes, feeding animals, etc.)

Do you attend church? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, do you attend:

rarely   _____
sometimes   _____
always   _____

How often do you carry out your duties without being asked?

never   _____
rarely   _____
sometimes   _____
always   _____

How often are you disciplined or punished for not doing your regular chores as requested?

never   _____
rarely   _____
sometimes   _____
always   _____

How are you disciplined or punished for not doing your regular chores (check one)

spanked   _____   no punishment _____
swatted   _____
shouted at   _____
talked to   _____
lose a privilege _____

What kind of things do you like to do around home (e.g., reading, T.V., etc.)

What are your favorite T. V. Programs?

How would you be punished if you did the following things?

(a) came home late for dinner:
spanked_____ swatted_____ shouted at_____ no punishment_____ talked to_____ lose a privilege_____

(b) disobeyed your mother:
loss of privilege_____ no punishment_____ shouted at_____ spanked_____ talked to_____ swatted_____

(c) lied to your mother:
loss of privilege_____ spanked_____ shouted at_____ swatted_____ no punishment_____ talked to_____

(d) fought with your younger brother or sister:
talked to_____ spanked_____ loss of privilege_____ no punishment_____ swatted_____ shouted at_____

(e) were caught by your mother stealing:
spanked_____ no punishment_____ talked to_____ shouted at_____ swatted_____ loss of privilege_____

(f) got really mad and broke a piece of furniture:
spanked_____ loss of privilege_____ talked to_____ shouted at_____ swatted_____ no punishment_____

(g) deliberately stayed away from school when you were supposed to attend:
loss of privilege_____ shouted at_____ talked to_____ spanked_____ no punishment_____ swatted_____

What kinds of organized things do you do away from home and school (e.g., cubs, scouts)? How much time do you spend doing these things (hours/week)?

Activities   Time

Other than organized things, what do you do when you are not at home or school? How much time do you spend doing each of these things (hours/week)?

Activities   Time

School

Are your marks in school as good as, worse than, or better than most of the other children in your class? (check one)

as good as   _____
worse than   _____
better than   _____

Do you belong to any teams or play any sports at school other than those in physical education?

Yes_____   No_____

List the sports you play.

Do you belong to any clubs, not including those concerned with sports in your school?

Yes_____   No_____

List the clubs to which you belong.

Have you ever received an award from your school? Yes_____   No_____

If yes, describe the award (s).

Compared to the other children in your class, do you receive many detentions, the same number of detentions, fewer detentions than most students? (check one) (detentions = stay in after school)

many detentions   _____
the same number of detentions   _____
fewer detentions   _____

What do you do that results in most of your detentions?

talking   _____
not doing work   _____
refusing to obey the teacher   _____
not doing homework   _____
others (specify)   _____

Have you ever been given the strap, suspended or expelled from school?

strapped   _____
suspended   _____
expelled   _____

If you have been strapped, suspended or expelled, why did this happen and how many times did it happen?

why -

number of times -

How many school days did you miss last year? (check one)

   0-2
   3-5
   6-8
   9-11
  12-14
  15-17
  18-20
  >-20

How many times were you late last year?

   0-2
   3-5
   6-8
   9-11
  12-14
  15-17
  18-20
  >-20

Demographic School Data

Achievement:

Grades for previous year:
                        excellent
                        good
                        average
                        poor
                        unnacceptable

Involvement in organized extracurricular activities:

Sports (list)

Clubs (list types)

Number of detentions relative to class:

high
average
low

If detentions given, which behaviors resulted in a detention most often?
(check one)

talking
not doing work
lack of respect for teacher
not doing homework
other (specify)

Number of serious offenses:

- corporal punishment
- suspensions
- expulsions
- other (specify)

Number of days late for school last year:

_____

Number of days absent from school last year:

_____

Name: _____

Age: _____

S-D

The questions on the following pages are probably very different than other
questions you have ever been asked. Be very careful to follow the instruc-
tions given to you. At the top of the pages that follow there is a word
such as HOME, TEACHER, MAN and so forth. What you are to do is describe
what these words mean to you by putting a check mark in one of the boxes
on each of the lines below the word. For example, suppose you were
going to describe BOYS' CLUB. Look at the example below.

BOYS' CLUB

	✓			
very clean	somewhat clean	not clean not dirty	somewhat dirty	very dirty

		✓		
very happy	somewhat happy	not happy not sad	somewhat sad	very sad

Pretend that you have made the check marks. You can see that when deciding
whether BOYS' CLUB was clean or dirty that you thought that it was somewhat
clean. If you had decided that it was very clean then you would have
placed your ✓ in the box above Very Clean. In your second rating, you could
not decide whether BOYS' CLUB was a happy or sad place so your ✓ went into
the middle box. If you had thought it was a little sad then you would have
put your ✓ in the Somewhat Sad box.

Now you can open your booklet and start to describe or rate the word at
the top of the page. Be sure to place a check mark in one of the boxes
on each line. When you finish describing the word on the first page, go
on to the next page and so on.

If you do not understand what you are to do please ask for help.

MOTHER

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

FATHER

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly

very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good

very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong

very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little

very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy

very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong

very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow

very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet

very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

GIRLS

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly

very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good

very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong

very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little

very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy

very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong

very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow

very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet

GIRLS

very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

HOME

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly

very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good

very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong

very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little

very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy

very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong

very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow

very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet

very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

SCHOOL

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

TEACHER

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

POLICEMAN

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

MAN

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriendly	somewhat unfriendly	very un-friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

WOMAN

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriend- ly	somewhat unfriendly	very un- friendly

very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good

very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong

very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little

very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy

very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong

very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow

very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet

very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

BEING DISHONEST

very friendly	somewhat friendly	not friendly not unfriend- ly	somewhat unfriendly	very un- friendly
very bad	somewhat bad	not bad not good	somewhat good	very good
very right	somewhat right	not right not wrong	somewhat wrong	very wrong
very big	somewhat big	not big not little	somewhat little	very little
very light	somewhat light	not light not heavy	somewhat heavy	very heavy
very weak	somewhat weak	not weak not strong	somewhat strong	very strong
very fast	somewhat fast	not fast not slow	somewhat slow	very slow
very loud	somewhat loud	not loud not quiet	somewhat quiet	very quiet
very still	somewhat still	not still not moving	somewhat moving	very moving

School Questionnaire

(1) School grades

(2) Number of organized sports activities

(3) Number of organized non-sports activities

(4) Frequency of detentions relative to class

(5) Number of serious offenses committed at school resulting in corporal punishment, suspension and/or expulsion

(6) Days late for school

(7) Days absent from school

Subject Questionnaire

(8) Number of duties around home

(9) Frequency of carrying out duties

(10) Attendance at church

(11) Number of preferred activities around the home

(12) Number of activities which are active

(13) Number of activities which are non-active

(14) Number of organized activities away from home and school

(15) Number of unorganized activities away from home and school

(16) School grades relative to class

(17) Number of sports played at school

(18) Number of clubs at school to which subject belonged

(19) Number of detentions relative to class

(20) Number of days missed from school

(21) Number of days late for school

(22) Number of awards for sports, academic, citizenship

(23) Punishment: strappings, suspensions, expulsions

Mothers' Questionnaire

(24) Church attendance

(25) Number of duties in home

(26) Frequency of carrying out duties

(27) Necessity of requesting duties

(28) Amount of allowance

(29) Number of recreational activities

(30) Number of active recreational activities

(31) Number of non-active recreational activities

(32) Number of organized activities (outside home)

(33) Marks in school

(34) Number of times contacted by school for child's misbehavior

Mothers' Questionnaire

(1) Most effective method of discipline

(2) Disciplinary effects for being:

    (a) Late for dinner

    (b) Disobeying a request

    (c) Lying

    (d) Fighting with siblings

    (e) Stealing

    (f) Destructive behavior in the home

    (g) Truancy from school

Subject Questionnaire

(3) Frequency of discipline for not performing regular chores
(four point scale from never to always)

(4) Method of discipline for not performing regular chores

(5) Disciplinary effects for being:

    (a) Late for dinner

    (b) Disobeying mother

    (c) Lying to mother

    (d) Fighting with siblings

    (e) Stealing

    (f) Destructive behavior in home

NOTE: All items were rated on a six point scale which ranged from no
punishment to being spanked. The scale was weighted along a
dimension of physical control with "no punishment" receiving a
weight of one and "spanking" receiving a weight of six.. The
scale employed was as follows:

Discipline	Weight
No punishment	1
Talked to	2
Shouted at	3
Loss of privilege	4
Swatted	5
Spanked	6

Mothers' Questionnaire

(1) Most effective method of discipline

(2) Disciplinary effects for being:

   (a) Late for dinner

   (b) Disobeying a request

   (c) Lying

   (d) Fighting with siblings

   (e) Stealing

   (f) Destructive behaviour in the home

   (g) Truancy from school

Subject Questionnaire

(3) Frequency of discipline for not performing regular chores (four point scale from Never to Always)

(4) Method of discipline for not performing regular chores

(5) Disciplinary effects for being:

   (a) Late for dinner

   (b) Disobeying mother

   (c) Lying to mother

   (d) Fighting with siblings

   (e) Stealing

   (f) Destructive behaviour in room

NOTE: All items were rated on a six point scale which ranges from no punishment to being spanked. The scale was weighted along a dimension of physical control with "no punishment" receiving a weight of two and "spanking" receiving a weight of eight. The scale weightings were as follows: